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AUTHOR Bourgeois-Pichat, Jean
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ABSTRACT

A profile of France is sketched in this paper. Emphasis is placed on the nature, scope, and accomplishments of population activities in the country. Topics and sub-topics include: (1) location and description of the country; (2) population--size, growth patterns, age structure, urban/rural distribution, ethnic and religious composition, education, economic status, future trends; (3) population growth and socio-economic development--relationships to national income, economic activity, international trade, consumption, national social security budget; (4) history of population concerns; (5) population policies; and (6) scientific research in population studies. Demographic problems have been a major concern in France since the beginning of the century, with distinct pronatalist and antinatalist movements emerging. Their respective influences on official policy have extended to this day. At the present time, France has a developing body of laws protecting the family and encouraging large families, but the country is also liberalizing the laws that restrict use and dissemination of contraceptive methods. References and a country map are given. (BL)

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Country Profiles

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FRANCE

by JEAN BOURGEOIS-PICHAT

M. Bourgeois-Pichat is director emeritus of the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, Paris, and chairman of the Committee for International Coordination of National Research in Demography established at the occasion of the United Nations World Population Year 1974. He has recently joined the staff of the Population Council as a senior staff associate in the Demographic Division.

The French population was the first in the world to practice birth control on a large scale. In the 1870s, the birth rate in France was 25 per thousand per year, a rate far below the 35 per thousand of neighboring countries in Europe. By the eve of World War II France had a birth rate of 16 per thousand per year.

The early reduction in the birth rate caused early concern in France with population size. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, distinct pronatalist and antinatalist movements emerged. Their respective influences on official policy have extended to this day. At the present time, France has a developing body of laws protecting the family and encouraging large families, and the country is also liberalizing the laws that restrict use and dissemination of contraceptive methods.

Location and Description

France, the largest country in western Europe comprises an area of 551,000 square kilometers and has the shape of a hexagon, each side extending about 500 kilometers. Also part of France is Corsica, an island to the south (8,722 square kilometers). France is bounded on the northwest by the English channel, the Strait of Dover, and the North Sea; on the northeast by Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Federal Republic of Germany; on the east by the Federal Republic of Germany, on the southeast by Switzerland, and Italy; on the south by the Mediterranean Sea and Spain; and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean.

France is in the temperate zone, situated halfway between the north pole and the equator. About half its frontiers are shores of sea and ocean and the remainder, except on the northeast, are mountainous. The western part of the Alpine chain lies in France, including Mont Blanc, the tallest peak, which is 4,807 meters high. France shares with Spain another important mountain range, the Pyrenees. A more ancient mountain chain, the Massif Central is situated in the interior of France; and there are two other ranges of lesser importance —the Vosges and the Jura, an extension of the Alps. The area of France lying above an altitude of 600 meters amounts to 91,720 square kilometers, or about 16.8 percent of the total.

Four great rivers flow principally in France: the Loire (1,020 kilometers), the Rhone (812 kilometers), the Seine (776 kilometers), and the Garonne (575 kilometers). Three great European rivers have parts of their courses in France: The Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine.

The capital is Paris. For administrative purposes, France is divided into 95 *départements*, 322 *arrondissements*, 3,208 cantons, and 37,708 communes (census of 1968). Also considered as part of French territory are 11 overseas departments and possessions with a total area of 151,561 square kilometers. These include the Comores, an archipelago in the Indian Ocean; the French territory of Afars and Issacs, on the east coast of Africa; French Southern and Antarctic territories; Réunion, an island in the Indian Ocean; Guadeloupe and Martinique, islands in the Caribbean; St. Pierre and Miguelon, an archipelago near Newfoundland; French Guiana, in South America; French Polynesia, New Caledonia, and Wallis and Futuna islands, all islands in Oceania, east of Australia. A territory of 14,763 square kilometers, the New Hebrides, an archipelago of Oceania, is jointly administered by France and the United Kingdom.

Population

SIZE

Total population. Since the end of World War II, France has conducted four censuses, in 1946, 1954, 1962, and 1968. According to official estimates, as of 1 January 1971, France included slightly more than 51 million inhabitants, roughly 92.5 persons per square kilometer. Below an altitude of 600 meters, population density is 106.6 persons per square kilometer. This population density is very low in comparison with that of adjacent coun-

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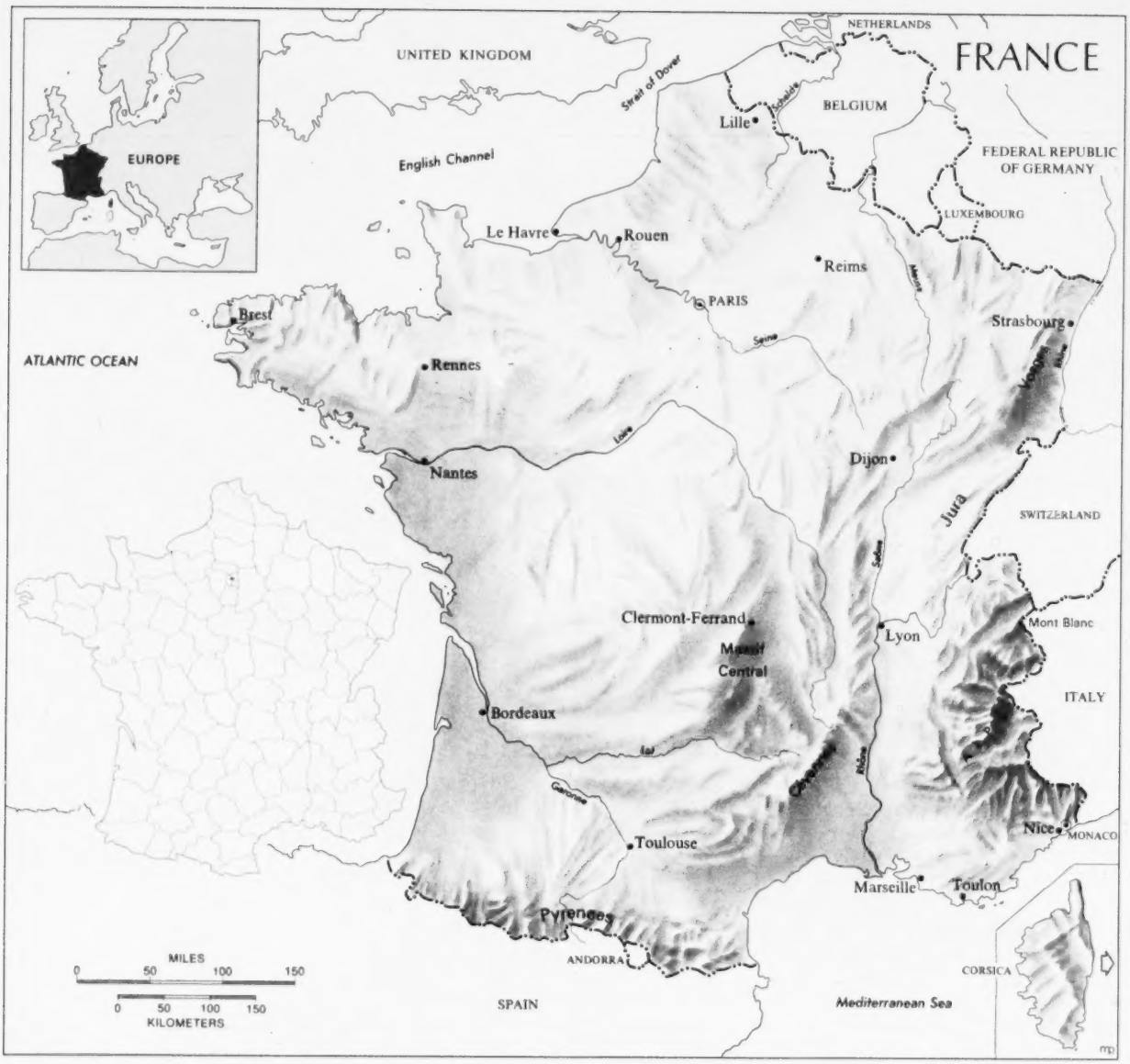

tries (except Spain). In the *Demographic Yearbook 1970* of the United Nations, the following densities per square kilometer were recorded: Netherlands, 319; Belgium, 317; Federal Republic of Germany, 240; United Kingdom, 228; Italy, 178; Switzerland, 152; Democratic Republic of Germany, 150; and Spain, 66.

Households. The 1968 census enumerated 15,778,100 households (as compared with 14,588,931 in 1962). The average number of persons in a household was 3.06 (3.10 in 1962). Size of household varies according to occupation of the head of the household as shown in Table 1.

Three-quarters of the increase in the number of households from 1962 to 1968 is due to population growth; the remainder is the result of a decrease in the number of persons sharing a household. In 1968, families were distributed by household as shown in Table 2. The average number of family members was 3.37, distributed by age as follows:

Age (years)	Average number
0 to 1	0.14
2 to 5	0.28
6 to 15	0.66
16 and over	2.29
All ages	3.37

Women of reproductive age. The number of women from 15 to 49 years of age has evolved in France during recent years as shown in Table 3.

Age at marriage. In 1969, the average age at first marriage was 24.5 for males and 22.4 for females. These ages reflect a tendency toward earlier age at marriage—in 1957 average age at first marriage was 26.2 for males and 23.6 for females.

Growth Patterns

In mainland France (discounting overseas holdings), the population

numbered 30 million in 1810 and 40 million in 1946. Recently, however, population growth has accelerated. Thus, although it took 136 years for the population to increase from 30 to 40 million it took only 23 years to add another 10 million.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the crude birth rate was 32 per 1,000, a rate which reflected unrestrained fertility and was typical of most of France's neighbors in western Europe. Three-quarters of a century later, in the 1870s, for reasons that are still a mystery, the birth rate in France had fallen to 25 per thousand, whereas the other countries of Europe had hardly begun to limit births. The earlier reduction of the birth rate in France has had important consequences. It has been estimated that if reproduction levels in France in the nineteenth century had been as high as in neighboring countries, then by 1970 the population would have numbered 195 million instead of the actual 50 million.

As the reduction of the birth rate continued in France, it began to occur in the other countries of western Europe as well. Although these countries were 75 years later than France in starting their reduction, it was more rapid so that by the eve of World War II the various countries had a gross birth rate of about the same figure, 16 per 1,000 per year.

After the war, there was a general rise in the birth rates in Europe. But since 1964 a new decrease has been evident, as shown for France in Table 4. It is too early to explain the recent decrease in the crude birth rate. Throughout this period, the average size of completed families has been 2.60 children, equivalent to a total fertility rate of 1.27. The increase before 1964 occurred in part because couples produced their children sooner, without modifying the ultimate sizes of their families. In such circumstances, the increase would naturally be followed by a decrease, but these fluctuations would not necessarily mean any basic change in behavior. Only if the decrease continues can it be interpreted as a change in behavior.

The gross death rate varies as a result of two counteracting factors. Improvement in health tends to decrease the death rate, but progressive aging of the population gives more weight to age groups in which there is a high mortality and tends to increase the rate. As a result of these two factors, variations in recent years have been slight, as shown in Table 4.

Because of the aging of the population, the crude death rate is a poor index of health conditions. In 1970 life expectancy at birth was estimated to be 72 years in France—75.2 for women, 68.9 for men. The difference of 6.3 years between men and women should be noted; for it is among the greatest in the world. (For comparison, expectation of life at birth was 68.7 for males and 74.9 for females in England and Wales in 1967–1969; 71.9 for males and 76.5 for females in Sweden in 1967; 71.0 for males and 76.4 for females in the Netherlands in 1968.)

Population growth, the difference between crude birth rate and mortality, has not varied much recently (see Table 4).

Table 1. Size of Households by Occupation of Head of Household

Occupation of head of household	Average number of persons	Average number of employed persons
Tenant farmers, agricultural wage earners	4.62	2.18
Laborers (blue collar)	3.70	1.62
Artists, clergy, army, police	3.58	1.45
Liberal professions, upper level	3.56	1.46
Industrial and commercial proprietors	3.38	1.73
Liberal professions, middle level	3.15	1.50
Employees (white collar)	3.03	1.56
Service personnel	2.45	1.50
Unemployed	1.76	0.27
All professions 1968	3.06	1.26
All professions 1962	3.10	1.29

Table 2. Distribution of Families by Households, 1968

Type of household	Number of households	Number of families
One-family	11,388,940	11,388,940
Two-family	328,060	656,120
Three-family	5,900	17,700
Totals	11,722,900	12,062,760
Households with no family	4,055,200	
Total	15,778,100	

Table 3. Distribution of Women Aged 15-49, Specified Years, 1931-1968

(figures are in thousands)

Year[a]	Total	Single	Married	Widowed and divorced
1931	10,929	3,553	6,714	662
1936	10,370	3,053	6,711	606
1946	10,362	3,608	6,174	580
1954	10,125	3,078	6,551	496
1962	10,149	2,936	6,809	404
1968	11,695	3,899	7,410	386

[a] Figures for 1 January except 1968 where figure is for March.

Age Structure

The progressive aging of the French population over the past two centuries is the most salient fact in the demographic development of France. The figures are expressed as percentages of the total population in Table 5. Since 1776 the proportion of elderly persons has almost tripled. In recent years the slight increase in the youngest age group is due to a rise in the postwar birth rate. The dependency burden, represented by the ratio of children (0–19 years) and elderly per-

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Table 4. Vital Rates per Thousand Population 1962-1971

Year	Crude birth rate	Crude death rate	Population growth rate
1962	17.6	11.4	6.2
1963	18.1	11.6	6.5
1964	18.1	10.7	7.4
1965	17.7	11.1	6.6
1966	17.5	10.7	6.8
1967	16.9	10.9	6.0
1968	16.7	11.0	5.7
1969	16.7	11.3[b]	5.4
1970	16.7	10.6	6.2
1971	17.3[a]	10.6	6.7

[a] Estimate.
[b] Increase was due to the influenza epidemic of late 1969.

Table 5. Aging of the Population and Dependency Burden, Specified Years, 1776-1970
(figures are percents)

Year	Age			Persons 0-19 and 65 and over per 100 persons aged 20-64 years
	0-19 years	20-64 years	65 and over	
1776	42.8	52.8	4.4	89.4
1801	41.9	52.5	5.6	90.5
1851	36.1	57.4	6.5	74.2
1901	34.2	57.3	8.5	74.5
1951	30.3	58.3	11.4	71.6
1970	33.2	53.9	12.9	85.5

Table 6. Population in Centers of High Concentration, 1968

Size of center (number of inhabitants)	Number of centers	Population (thousands)
50,000 to 100,000	45	3,140
100,000 to 200,000	28	4,049
200,000 and over, (excluding Paris)	21	8,290
Paris and its environs	1	8,197
All centers	95	24,676

Table 7. Foreigners and Naturalized Citizens, Specified Years, 1946-1968
(figures in thousands)

Year	Foreigners	Naturalized citizens	Total
1946	1,744	853	2,597
1954	1,766	1,068	2,833
1962	2,170	1,284	3,454
1968	2,664	1,316	3,980

sons (65 years and older) to economically active adults is shown in Table 5.

The ratio of elderly persons to economically active persons has constantly increased. That of children decreased until 1951 and then increased as a result of the rise in the birth rate. The total dependency burden decreased until 1951, then rose again by 1970 to almost the level of two centuries earlier. But the two types of dependence are different in their sociological implications. The adult willingly accedes to providing for the young but regards providing for the old as an encumbrance.

Furthermore, the consideration of age is not in itself sufficient to measure the growing burden of inactive persons. For 100 people engaged in the labor force there were, in 1901, 11.6 people above age 40 who were formerly in the labor force or widows of males formerly in the labor force. If the norm of labor were the same, this proportion would have reached 18.6 in 1968 (due to aging of the population). But the norms of labor have changed (due to social progress) and the real proportion in 1968 was 35.2.

Rural-Urban Distribution

According to the 1968 census, population distribution in centers of high concentration was as shown in Table 6. Some 25,124,000 inhabitants—that is, a little more than half the total population—live outside these 95 urban concentrations.

The population of French overseas departments and territories reached 1,660,000 in the middle of 1967.

Ethnic and Religious Composition

The people of France are descended from the racial groups of western Europe: Mediterraneans, Celts, Germans, and Latins. The country has always assimilated foreigners from widely different origins, and foreigners and naturalized citizens have always made up a significant proportion of the population. Table 7 gives the results of enumerations made in the last four censuses. The largest numbers of foreigners are from Spain, Italy, Algeria, and Portugal. The entry of foreigners into France accounts for a considerable portion of the increase in population—from 25 to 30 percent, depending on variations in the economic situation.

Foreigners also contribute to the rate of natural increase. Thirteen percent of the children born in 1970 had at least one parent who was a foreigner or a naturalized French citizen. This percentage represented a little over 100,000 births. The foreign population belongs for the most part to age groups in which mortality is relatively low. The reduction that would have occurred in annual deaths if the foreigners were not present may be estimated at 40,000. The migratory balance would also have disappeared. (In 1970 the migratory balance was around 190,000.) Altogether, the population increase in 1970 in France would have been reduced by 250,000 —that is, by approximately one half.

Education

Until 1967 school attendance in

France was compulsory from six to 14 years of age. In the scholastic year 1967–1968, the upper age limit was raised to 16 years. At the same time, levels of school attendance before six and after 14 (or 16, at present)—have been increasing, as shown in the following table:

School attendance by age
(percents of population)

Age in years	1958-1959	1967-1968
2	8.7	13.5
3	32.2	51.0
4	57.2	79.5
5	89.6	99.1
6-12	99.0	99.+
13	96.8	98.5
14	68.4	84.8
15	53.0	62.5
16	43.5	54.6
17	27.7	39.8
18	16.9	27.9

The statistics for higher education are less precise. There are duplications and part-time students. Advanced studies outside of the university are very diverse and do not lend themselves to an exact census. In 1958–1959 "advanced students," numbered 250,000 or 6.1 percent of the total population between 18 and 24 years of age; in 1968–1969 they numbered 690,000 or 12.5 percent of those aged 18–24.

Economic Status

The size of the economically active population in France has varied little since the beginning of the century, as shown in Table 8.

Although France now has about the same size active population as in 1901, 20.5 million in all, the total population numbers 10 million more than in 1901. It has to be supported at a higher standard of living, by a significantly reduced number of working years. However, the distribution by economic sectors of the active population has changed markedly since the beginning of the century. Whereas in 1901, 43 percent of the economically active population were employed in agriculture, forestry, and fishing, this percent had decreased to 15 in 1968. In 1901, 31 percent were engaged in industry, and in 1968, 41 percent. In 1901, 26 percent were in the category "other," and in 1968, 44 percent were in this category.

Table 8. Economically Active Population, 1901 and 1968

Year	Active population (thousands)			Total population on 30 June (thousands)	Inactive persons per 100 active
	French	Foreign	Total		
1901	19,859	641	20,500	40,700	98.54
1968	19,189	1,250	20,439	49,900	144.14

Future Trends

Population forecasts have recently been calculated by the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies from two hypotheses, stable fertility and decreasing fertility. Under the first hypothesis, the gross reproduction rate remains steady at 1.25. Under the second, this rate drops progressively until the year 1985, when it stabilizes, remaining steady at 1.04. The death rate is presumed to continue its downward movement under both hypotheses. The following table shows observed and projected life expectancy at birth for men and women up to the year 2000.

Life expectancy at birth

Years	Men	Women
1933-1938	55.9	61.6
1946-1949	61.9	67.4
1952-1956	65.0	71.2
1960-1964	67.5	74.4
1970	68.9	75.2
1985	71.5	77.2
2000	73.2	77.9

Emigration is taken to be nil. The baseline for the forecast is the year 1968. The implication of the forecast is that, under conditions of stable fertility and decreasing fertility, the total population of France would evolve as follows (in millions):

Year	Stable fertility	Decreasing fertility
1970	50.3	50.3
1985	56.5	55.1
2000	63.4	59.2

Population density in 2000 would thus be 115 per square kilometer assuming stable fertility, and 108 per square kilometer, assuming decreasing fertility. Concentration of population in the towns would continue. Centers of 50,000 inhabitants or more, which in 1968 accounted for slightly over half of the total population, might contain 63 percent of the population in the year 2000. Foreign immigration, which is not figured into the forecast, would increase this percentage even further.

The number of married women of reproductive age (MWRA) is also the same under both hypotheses. It increases steadily from 1968 to 2000:

Year	MWRA (thousands)
1968	11,400
1970	11,900
1985	12,900
2000	15,000

The figures for crude birth, death, and natural growth rates, based on expectations of fertility and mortality, are projected in Table 9, and age composition evolves as shown in Table 10. On the hypothesis of stable fertility, little change is to be observed. Aging of the population is slowed down because the diminished generation born during World War I is reaching the age of retirement. But this slowing down is only temporary and ends by the year 2000. After 2000 the proportion of elderly persons to the total population would continue to grow. This growth is further intensified if we assume low fertility. On this hypothesis the population would, in the long run, reach an almost stationary level at which the age composition (in percents) would be as follows:

Age (years)	Fraction (percent)
0-19	27.3
20-64	57.3
65 and older	15.4

It can be seen that, on the hypothesis of low fertility, by the year 2000 an almost stationary age structure will have been reached.

The aging of the population, which was one of the characteristics of

demographic evolution in France during the past two centuries (as it was in most of the countries of western Europe), is approaching an end. A forecast of the economically active population has been made up to the year 1985. It was presumed that the tendencies toward an increasingly late entry into the labor force and an increasingly early retirement from it would continue. The numbers in Table 11 are thus derived.

For the first time in a long while, the economically active population shows an increase: 1,879,000 in 15 years (1970–1985). Although the dependency ratio also continues to increase, foreign immigration, which was not taken into account in the forecast but which in reality will continue, will diminish this increase and might even reverse the trend. A net annual total of 100,000 active foreign immigrants would bring the active population in 1985 close to 24 million. Inactive persons would then number only 142.3 per 100 active persons, fewer than in 1970.

Table 9. Projections of Vital Rates
(events per thousand per year)

Year	Stable fertility			Decreasing fertility		
	Birth	Death	Growth	Birth	Death	Growth
1970	17.1	10.7	6.4	16.8	10.7	6.1
1985	18.1	10.1	8.0	15.6	10.3	5.3
2000	17.5	9.7	7.8	14.8	10.3	4.5

Table 10. Projections of Age Structure
(figures in percents)

Year	Stable fertility Age (years)			Decreasing fertility Age (years)		
	0-19	20-64	65	0-19	20-64	65
1970	33.2	53.9	12.9	33.1	54.0	12.9
1985	32.5	55.3	12.2	30.8	56.7	12.5
2000	32.4	54.3	14.3	28.8	57.0	14.2

Table 11. Projections of the Economically Active Population

Year	Active population (thousands)	Total population (thousands)	Active population as percent of total	Number of inactive persons per 100 active
1970	20,549	50,328	40.8	144.9
1985	22,428	56,486	39.7	151.9

Table 12. Economic Activities as Percents of GNP

Year	Agriculture, forestry, fishing	Industry	Construction and public works	Transport and communication	Wholesale and retail trade	Other[a]	Total
1950	14	42	6	5	12	21	100
1960	9	39	8	5	11	28	100
1970[b]	6	37	10	5	10	32	100

[a] "Other" comprises banking, insurance and real estate, ownership of dwellings, public administration and defense, and personal and other services.
[b] Estimates.
Source: Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics 1969, Vol. 2. International Tables (see Table 3). United Nations publication, sales no. E. 71. XVII. 3.

Population Growth and Socioeconomic Development

National Income

In spite of an almost stationary active population, France has achieved remarkable economic development. In per capita gross national product (GNP) France remained during the last decade among the ten "richest" countries of the world. Private consumption has increased less rapidly than the GNP. A growing fraction of the GNP is used for investment (savings and amortization). The fraction attributable to transfers abroad has decreased steadily but seems to be stabilizing at a little over 1 percent of the GNP. This fraction is composed almost entirely of the economic aid that France provides to the developing countries. Although modest, it places France among the industrialized countries that donate a significant percentage of their GNP to the third world.

Types of Economic Activity

Percent distribution of the principal types of economic activity contributing to the GNP is shown in Table 12 for 1950–1970. As in the majority of industrialized countries, the importance of agriculture has diminished and that of services has increased. Agriculture, which engaged 14 percent of the labor force, accounted for only an estimated 6 percent of the GNP in 1970.

International Trade

Part of France's GNP is the result of exchanges on the international market. These exchanges account for only 15 percent of GNP and 25 percent of private consumption. Among the countries of western Europe, France thus is least dependent on foreign exchanges. For purposes of comparison, the following figures from the *Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics* are given for imports as percent of GNP in 1968 for the respective countries: Netherlands, 43; Ireland, 41; Belgium, 39; Denmark, 30; Switzerland, 30; Austria, 28; Sweden, 23; United Kingdom, 21; Spain, 16; and the United States, 5. The smaller countries, inevitably, draw heavily on international trade for their economic development.

Components of Consumption

Internal private consumption principally consists of household consumption (97 percent). Distribution

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Table 13. Distribution of National Consumption, 1959 and 1968

Category	Percent distribution	
	1959	1968
Food	37.4	29.9
Clothing	11.5	10.2
Housing	17.5	20.3
Hygiene and health[a]	8.3	11.5
Transportation and communication	8.4	9.8
Culture and entertainment	7.7	8.7
Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	9.2	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0

[a] Medical expenses made up 6.9 percent of this category in 1959 and 9.3 percent in 1968.

Source: Fernand Pascaud, La Consommation des ménages de 1959 à 1968 Paris: (Les collections de l'I.N.S.E.E. 3M).

of this consumption by various categories of expenditure varies with the standard of living, as Table 13 shows. The portion spent on food and clothing is decreasing as the proportion spent in other categories is increasing. Noteworthy is the growth in consumption in the category "hygiene and health," an increase of 38.6 percent in ten years.

NATIONAL SOCIAL SECURITY BUDGET

The government establishes each year what is known as the national social security budget. This budget establishes payments beyond direct remuneration for work that tend to improve the circumstances of French citizens and—in many cases—of foreigners who live in France and are economically active. An enumeration of the principal contents of this budget will clarify its purpose. There are benefits for illness, injuries suffered at work, and old age. Invalids and families are also eligible for assistance. The benefits include traditional welfare payment, relief from unemployment, financing for dwellings and rents, reparation for damages from war, social benefits from the state and local collectives, paid vacations for the private sector, and health and social measures.

The national social security budget represents an increasing fraction of the GNP, from 25 percent in 1960 to 30.3 percent in 1965 to 31 percent in 1967. The social security budget as a percentage of internal private consumption has increased from 30.0 percent in 1960 to 35.6 percent in 1965 to 36.3 percent in 1967. In fact, these percentages disguise the actual flow of income from the prosperous classes to those in more modest circumstances. A considerable portion of the social security budget is absorbed by a rise in prices.

History of Population Concerns

BEFORE 1900

The movement initiated in England by Thomas Malthus and developed by Francis Place in the early nineteenth century had delayed reverberations in France. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, fifty years after Place, Paul Robin, a revolutionist and onetime friend of Karl Marx, espoused the cause of birth control. (He was dismissed from his post as director of a boarding school for advocating practice of birth control as a means of achieving happiness.) To publicize his cause, he founded the League for Human Regeneration and published a periodical entitled *Regénération*.

Another current of thought developed during the same period. Noting the continued decrease in the French birth rate, certain persons became alarmed about the demographic future of France and formed the National Alliance against Depopulation to refute the ideas disseminated by Robin. Also founded at this time was the Family Association, the essential purpose of which was to defend the rights of the family. Although often in agreement with the goals of the Alliance, the Family Association based its program on different principles. For it, there was not so much a problem of depopulation as of injustice against the family. From the start, therefore, the defenders of demographic growth included in their numbers both the pronatalists and the supporters of social justice. These two concerns can be found throughout the history of demographic policy in France. Considerations of social justice are predominant, but there are also some purely pronatalist measures.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, political parties were as divided as public opinion on the subject of demographic development in France, although for different reasons. Socialists with a strict allegiance to Marxist doctrines opposed any propaganda in favor of contraception. Arguments developed then are encountered again in today's Marxist countries when there is any question of supporting contraception in the third world. According to these arguments, the poverty of the proletariat (or the peoples in today's third world) is due not to the excessive increase in population, but to the defects of the capitalist economy. Some socialists in France nevertheless recognized the disadvantage of an overpopulated labor force; for they called on workers to stop having children in what they called a "strike of the bellies" (grève des ventres) to prevent capitalism from exploiting their numbers.

This controversy between partisans and opponents of birth control has continued intermittently to the present day.

EARLY 1900s

What was the position of the state between these two factions? For a long time, the government adopted a neutral position. It is possible to take the view *a posteriori* that compulsory education, enacted in 1882, and the creation, the same year, of a High Council of Health, for the purpose of organizing public health in France were population-policy measures. At the time, however, no demographic consideration was invoked to justify either action.

The first measure adopted under pressure from the pronatalists and supporters of the family was passed in 1900; under this measure, mailmen and telegraph operators received family allowances. In 1913 the measure was extended to the army and, in 1916, to all civil servants.

During this period the senate on two occasions, in 1901 and 1911,

ordered that a "commission on depopulation" be established. These commissions were instructed to propose legislative measures to Parlement that would serve to curb depopulation.

During the aftermath of World War I, in January 1920, the government set up a Ministry of Hygiene Assistance and Social Planning. This was the consummation of efforts begun in 1882 with the creation of the High Council of Health. The new minister set up within his ministry a High Council on Births composed of 30 persons. Required to meet once a month, members of the council were instructed to find ways of increasing the birth rate, developing child care, and encouraging and supporting large families and in a more general way to prepare such legislative proposals, decrees, and memoranda as they thought should be presented for the minister's approval. The decree that created the High Council on Births at the same time authorized the creation, in each department of France, of a commission charged with preventing depopulation.

In a parallel private initiative, the chambers of commerce decided to hold a congress on the birth rate. It took place at Nancy in 1919. A second congress, held at Lille in 1920, formulated the *Declaration of Rights of the Family*. This declaration was an effort to state the point of view of the family-life supporters as opposed to that of the pronatalists in the High Council on Births.

There is often a gap between intentions and implementation, and indeed the positive measures taken by the government to increase fertility were not significant. On the other hand, the administration induced Parlement in 1920 to enact a law suppressing abortion and forbidding the sale and dissemination of contraceptive products. (This law had been drafted in 1910 but was never acted on by the senate.)

In addition, at the instigation of the family-life movements, management and corporate associations decided to make family allowances to employees working in the private sector who had dependents. (As we have already mentioned, family allowances had existed in the public sector since 1916.) A law passed on 11 March 1932 made the measure official and obligatory. During the same period the government created, under the name of social insurance, what later became the social security system for wage-earners (law of 30 April 1938).

The Family Code

On 22 February 1939, the president of the Council of Ministers appointed a Chief Committee on Population, consisting of five members (increased to seven in 1940) to coordinate and stimulate action in ministerial departments to counteract depopulation and to provide France with a family code. This committee was set up close to the head of government and had an importance that no similar organization had previously enjoyed. (The High Council of Births established in 1920 was a simple ministerial council.) On 30 June 1939, the committee transmitted its report to the head of government, who promulgated on 29 July the national family code. The action placed French legislation of the period ahead of all other legislation of its type. Chapter headings of the code were as follows:

1. *Family aid:* Premiums on the first birth and general family allowances, loans for the establishment of young rural households and contracts for extended payments, family assistance.

2. *Protection of the family:* Maternal protection (prevention of abortion, establishment of maternity homes, reduction of infant mortality), protection of children.

3. *Human protection* (against social offenses, toxic substances, alcoholism).

4. *The family and instruction* (demographic teaching, medical supervision of education establishments).

5. *Fiscal arrangements.*

After World War II, a new organization, the High Consultative Committee on Population and the Family, was established by decree on 12 April 1945. In the course of 11 sessions, seven of which were presided over by General de Gaulle, the committee elaborated formulas to complete the existing measures in support of the family. It prepared a project on the status of foreigners in France and went on to make a critical review of texts that were in preparation concerning the organization of social security. Finally, two ordinances passed by the government on 4 October and 19 October 1945 took up and completed the body of texts regulating the social policy of France; they also set up the framework in which this policy subsequently developed. In addition, an ordinance of 2 November 1949 established "conditions for entry and residence in France for foreigners."

Population Policies

From a demographic view, the social policy of France is characterized by: (a) a body of laws that are pronatalist and, more particularly, family oriented; (b) health and maternity insurance extended to members of workers' families; and (c) old-age pensions extended to spouses of workers.

In general, the pronatalist and family oriented measures include payments calculated on a hypothetical base salary. The salary varies according to the various allowances. These salaries are periodically reevaluated according to the increases in the cost of living, but generally not to increases in the standard of living. This means that the allowances represent a diminishing part of the total income. The hypothetical salaries are not uniform throughout France. The territory is divided into five zones numbered 0 to 4 and the salaries diminish by 1 percent from one zone to the following one.

For the purpose of these payments, on principle, children are considered as dependent until they have completed compulsory education. (Fourteen years of age for children born before 1 January 1953, 16 years of age for children born thereafter. In practice, the allowances are given until six months after these ages.) However, four categories of children are considered to be dependent beyond school-leaving age. In 1970 they represented about 13 percent of child beneficiaries. They are as follows:

apprentices until their 18th birthdays

students until their 20th birthdays

handicapped children until their 20th birthdays

Table 14. Help to the Family: Monthly Allowances Paid in January 1972 in Zone Zero

Monthly allowance (French francs)

Number of children[a]	Family allowances[b]	Compensatory allowance[c] (salaried only)	Single income families[d]: No child less age two: Mother at home: Single income (salaried)	Single income families[d]: No child less age two: Mother at home: Employers and independent workers	Single income families[d]: No child less age two: Mother at home: Agricultural sector (nonsalaried)	Single income families[d]: At least one child less than age two	Complementary allowance[e]
0							
1			38.90		19.45		
2	91.41	9.81	77.80	19.45	48.68		
3	245.15	24.90	97.25	38.90	47.25		
4	398.88	39.98	97.25	58.35	97.25	97.25[f]	97.25
5	536.00	55.06	97.25	77.80	97.25		
6	673.12[g]	70.14[h]	97.25[f]	97.25[f]	97.25[f]		

[a] Children less than 16 years old, or less than 18 years old if apprentice, or less than 20 years old if student.

[b] For each child 10-15 years old, add 37.40 francs except for the oldest child of families with less than three children.

[c] No zoning for this allowance.

[d] Not paid for families with high income (see text).

[e] Subject to the income and the composition of the family.

[f] The allowance remains at this level after six children.

[g] Add 137.12 francs for each additional child.

[h] Add 15.08 francs for each additional child.

girls in the home until their 20th birthdays (girls not engaged in the labor force).

These basic allowances have been paid since 1945:

1. *Family allowances.* These consist primarily of payments according to the birth order of the child and his age, as shown in Table 14.

2. *Allowance for single income.* This is given each month to each household in which there is a single income. It varies according to the economic activity of the head of the household (salaried employees and independent workers outside of agriculture, nonsalaried workers in agriculture) and to the age of children (see Table 14).

3. *Prenatal allowance.* This is an allowance for anticipated dependents, and all pregnant women are entitled to it. It consists of three payments, at the end of the third, sixth, and eighth month of pregnancy. (In zone zero, January 1972, these amount to 182.82, 365.64, and 274.23 francs, respectively.)

4. *Maternity benefits.* The mother of a newborn child is entitled to a maternity allowance under either of the two following conditions: If it is a first child, the mother must be less than 25 years old or have been married for less than two years. For a child after the first born, the birth must take place less than three years after the previous birth. The benefit is given in two equal payments (540.15 francs in zone zero): the first at birth and the second six months after birth. Finally, the child must be French or become French within three months from birth.

5. *Housing allowance.* This is accorded to the head of the family to help him finance his principal dwelling. To qualify for the allowance, the dwelling place must comply with certain regulations on crowding and sanitation. In addition, the family must spend a certain fraction of its income on its lodging. This fraction varies with the number of children and the level of income.

Miscellaneous measures. In addition to the family benefits described above, there are measures aimed at alleviating the costs of raising children: social welfare payment for the neediest, scholarships for students, reduction of transportation fare for families with more than two children, extension of social security benefits to children and to mothers not engaged in the labor force, sick leave for pregnant working women before and after birth. Finally, income tax is calculated according to the size of the family (*quotient familial*).

Recent developments. The following new allowances established recently seem to indicate a new orientation in the policies regarding aid to families:

6. *Allowance for specialized education* (law of 31 July 1968). A monthly allowance (207.75 francs in zone zero) is given for each handicapped child under age 20 who needs, in addition to special care, special education or special professional training adapted to his case.

7. *Allowance for orphanhood* (law of 2 December 1970 and decree of 22 July 1971). A monthly allowance is given to any person who takes care really and permanently of an orphan. For an orphan lacking both parents, the allowance (124.65 francs in zone zero) is given regardless of the income of the foster family. For an orphan of only one parent, there is an income limit beyond which the allowance (62.33 francs in zone zero) is not paid. A single woman with children is classified as a widow.

8. *Allowance for care of children* (law of December 1971). This allowance (probably 10 francs a day in zone zero) is given to the working mother to help her to pay for the care of her children less than three years old when she is away from home. The allowance for single income described above was created as an incentive to keep the mother out of the labor force so that she could concentrate on the rearing of her children. The new allowance departs from this position. To be entitled to receive this allowance, the income of the family must be below a certain limit. Neither this limit nor the exact amount of the allowance has yet been fixed (December 1971).

9

Modification of the single income allowance. Finaliy the payment of the single income allowance has been modified recently. (The decree of application has not yet appeared.)

First, the allowance is not paid above a certain income limit. This limit varies with the number of children (4,000 taxable francs per month for a family of two children and 5,000 for a family of six children). An estimated 300,000 families will be excluded from the benefit as a consequence of this limit.

Second, for the families with low income (not taxable according to the income tax schedule), the allowance for single income is paid according to the previous rules and the previous rates, and for families with at least one child below three years or with four children, it is supplemented by a complementary single income allowance. It is estimated that 1,110,000 families will benefit from this complementary allowance, defined as a percentage of the "minimum salary of growth," which follows the increase of both the cost and the standard of living. As mentioned above, the amount of the other allowances varies only with the cost of living.

Between the upper limit of payment of the single income allowance and the lower limit of nontaxable income, there are 3,221,000 families for which the allowances are calculated at rates varying with the size and the income of the family.

Finally, for the families receiving the complementary single income allowance, the years spent by the mother in child raising will be taken into account for the calculation of retirement benefit.

The new elements in the three allowances above and the modification of the payment of the allowance for one income only in the family can be summarized as follows:

The new allowances serve specific needs (specialized education, orphanhood, care of children).

Most of the new allowances are paid only if certain conditions of income are fulfilled. Generally, the families have to be exempt from income tax. This reduces the impact of these allowances and encounters the opposition of family associations. Members of these associations feel that by such measures the government tends to reduce the role of family benefits to welfare payments for the neediest.

For the first time, the rules for the payment of the complementary allowance when there is only one income in the family take into account the increase in the *standard* of living. (A confirmation of a new trend can be found in the fact that in 1971, the percentage increase of the theoretical salary used for calculating the family allowances has been greater than the percentage increase of the cost of living.)

Official Position on Contraception

We indicated earlier that Parlement passed a law in 1920 prohibiting promotion and practice of induced abortion and the dissemination of contraception propaganda, as well as the diffusion of information on and the sale of contraceptives or any devices supposed to be contraceptive in nature. This law was misguided in attempting to legislate in two domains: the recourse to abortion and the recourse to contraception. Since the evolution of policies in these two areas was different, we shall consider them separately.

The sale of condoms has always been authorized in France as a health measure. Furthermore, dissemination of information on the rhythm method, including the use of basal temperatures, has been allowed. Also, oral contraceptives have been sold in France since their development, by medical prescription, for reasons of health.

In 1950, a female doctor, Lagroua-Weil-Hallé, created an association, "Maternité heureuse" (Happy Motherhood), which offered consultation on family planning. In these consultations, women were generally advised to use diaphragms that could be obtained abroad. This association became in 1958 "Maternité heureuse. Mouvement française pour le planning familial" (Happy Motherhood. French Movement for Family Planning) and, in 1968, it was named: "Fédération nationale, Maternité heureuse, Mouvement française pour le planning familial."

It is thus evident that the law of 1920 was never rigorously enforced with respect to contraception. It became clear that in time it was outmoded.

The law of 28 December 1967. A new law passed on 28 December 1967 accomplished the following:

Article 1 nullified articles 3 and 4 of the law of 1920 which prohibited birth control information and the distribution and sale of contraceptives.

Articles 2 and 3 authorized the manufacture, import, and sale of contraceptives, to be distributed solely by pharmacies. The law took effect on 4 February 1969; diaphragms have been sold henceforth on request and chemical contraceptives are sold on prescription; IUDs must be inserted by doctors. Contraceptives are sold to minors only with parental permission.

Article 4 stated that a ruling would determine the nature and procedures of clinics for family planning information and consultation. (The ruling has not yet appeared.)

Article 5 stipulated that "Anti-natalist propaganda is forbidden . . . all propaganda and all advertising . . . of . . . contraceptive methods is forbidden, except in publications intended solely for doctors and pharmacists."

Article 6 concerns France's extra-territorial holdings. It states in particular that special measures will be taken in these areas according to the individual situations.

Article 7 indicates the sanctions to be incurred by violators of the law.

Article 8 states that "each year the Minister of Social Affairs will publish a report on the demographic evolution of the country and the application of the present law."

Official Position on Abortion

The rulings of the law of 1920 related to abortion remain untouched by the law of 28 December 1967. Promotion of induced abortion is prohibited even when this promotion is not followed by action. Also illegal according to the law is possession of equipment for performing an abortion, even when an abortion has not been carried out or attempted with this equipment or even when the equipment is revealed to be "insufficient to the purpose."

10

These rulings, as one can see, are very severe. Nonetheless, in practice, punishment for infraction of the law is rare and a growing number of people anticipate that a new law concerning abortion will replace that of 1920. There is no doubt that their wish will be realized in the near future.

Scientific Research in Population Studies

Demographic problems have been a major concern in France since the beginning of the century. The currents of thought and diverse opinions that have developed have needed—to fortify their stands—a wealth of statistical data. Before World War II, the Statistical Office (Statistique générale de la France) with limited means, accomplished a remarkable collection and analysis of demographic data.

After World War II, the government created the National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED), responsible for evaluation of the measures that should be taken to influence the course of demographic development. The institute publishes a review, *Population*, which appears regularly six times a year with an occasional special additional issue, some books on particular subjects worthy of note, and a monthly bulletin, *Population et Sociétés*, which presents on a layman's level, to a readership of 70,000, a description of current demographic research. Paralleling the research, the teaching of demography has been gradually developing. Details on this instruction can be found in a recent article by E. Garlot: "L'enseignement de la démographie en France." (*Population* no. 3, May-June, 1968, pp. 499–508). The National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) that succeeded the "Statistique générale de la France," continues the work of the earlier office in organizing censuses, collecting data, and conducting various inquiries of a demographic nature by means of polls. The results are presented and analyzed in the various publications of this institute.

Suggested Reading

M. Huber, H. Bunle, F. Boverat. *La population de la France. Son évolution et ses perspectives.* 4th edition, completely revised with the assistance of M. Febvay. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1965.

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Japan, March 1971.
Kenya, May 1971.
Korea, Republic of, April 1970.
Malaysia, July 1970.
Mauritius, September 1970.
Nepal, April 1972.
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Thailand, March 1972.
Trinidad and Tobago, August 1971.
Turkey, January 1970.
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Institutions or individuals in the developed countries can purchase these books directly from Key Book Service, Inc., 425 Asylum Street, Bridgeport, Connecticut 06610, U.S.A.

Bean, Lee L., Richmond K. Anderson, and Howard J. Tatum. *Population and Family Planning: Manpower and Training*, 1971. 136 pages. ISBN 0-87834-003-3. $3.95.

Callahan, Daniel. *Ethics and Population Limitation*, 1971. 52 pages. ISBN 0-87834-002-5. $3.95.

Fawcett, James T. *Psychology and Population: Behavioral Research Issues in Fertility and Family Planning*, 1970. 160 pages. ISBN 0-87834-001-7. $3.95.

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Simmons, George B. *The Indian Investment in Family Planning*, 1971. 232 pages. ISBN 0-87834-004-1. $4.50.